

*the Duty and Reward of loving our
Country, and seeking its Prosperity.*

A
DISCOURSE

DELIVERED IN TWO PARTS,

AT THE

NATIONAL FAST,

APRIL 25th, 1799.

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BOSTON:

PRINTED BY MANNING & LORING.

1799





PSALM cxxii. 6.

PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM: THEY
SHALL PROSPER THAT LOVE THEE.

WE have here the heart of a good man glowing with love to his country: and in nothing perhaps does a good man appear more in character. Why Jerusalem interested him in that manner, it may be well to inquire, and thence take direction for ourselves. For my brethren and companions' sakes I will now say, Peace be within thee: This was one reason; see verse 8th. He felt the ties of *natural* relationship; and he felt the *sacred* bonds that united him to so many pious, virtuous people in that community. In verse 5th we have another reason; and in verse 9th another; THERE are set thrones of judgment, the thrones of the house of David.—BECAUSE OF THE HOUSE OF THE LORD OUR GOD, I will seek thy good.

The civil and religious institutions granted to that favored nation, were dear and precious to him; and this last seems to be the crowning reason.

Let the Psalmist be our example. Our natural attachment to the country which gave us birth, like that to our parents or children, may properly be indulged, as long as it serves to stimulate us to our duties at home, without interfering with what we owe abroad.

abroad. Let a virtuous love to our fellow-citizens, and union of heart to the precious number of good people which *our* Jerusalem contains, greatly endear it to us. Especially let those Constitutions which guard every thing important to us, and those divine *institutions* with which we are privileged, interest us in it's welfare: For what else should be the primary object when we think of loving our country? Certainly not a soil, however luxuriant; nor an air, however salubrious; nor a pleasant or beautiful situation: It is a government of laws, which unites liberty with order, and gives rest and security to all well-disposed citizens; it is precious liberty and privilege for the soul. It is in these, above all, that we find a country worthy to be loved and strenuously defended.*

In the words first read, we have *a duty* enjoined; and *an encouragement* annexed to it.

The *duty* is that of *praying for our country*, taking in to view all it's interests, especially the most important. Praying for it's peace is praying for it's prosperity: for peace, in Hebrew style, very frequently has this latitude. Thou shalt see peace upon Israel; Psalm cxxviii. Great shall be the peace of thy children; Isaiah liv. Ye shall go out with joy, and be led forth with peace; Isaiah lv. Behold I will extend peace to her like a river, and the glory of the Gentiles like a flowing stream; Isaiah lxvi. Indeed our context leads us to a large construction. Peace be within thy walls, and PROSPERITY within thy palaces.

The *object* of prayer then, is whatever goes to constitute the true happiness of a nation:—peace with Heaven, as the great foundation of all: that the Lord “would turn us from our transgressions; and turn his displeasure from us, through the Great Mediator and Redeemer;” and vouchsafe that presence, that conduct and protection, which will make us happy; and without which clouds and darkness hang upon all
our

* See a Sermon of Dr. Cooper at the commencement of the Constitution of Massachusetts, 1780, page 27.

our prospects. How importunate was Moses upon this head ! If thy presence go not with me, carry us not up hence. Exodus xxxiii. And how happy (great as his burden was) in having this answer to his fervent petition, My presence shall go with thee, and I will give thee rest.

We must pray for the Church of God in the land, that it may be built up in faith and true holiness ; it's low state remembered ; it's breaches repaired ; that instead of the fathers there may be the children, to remember their Savior, keep up his ordinances, and shew forth his virtues ; to be the salt of the earth ; to shine as lights in the world ; to stand in the gap for the land, that desolating judgments may not enter. In fine, that Christians in name and profession may appear in character ; exhibit more of purity, and more of mutual love ; enjoy the sublime comforts of the gospel ; retain their precious liberties ; and be at rest from every disturber. This is praying for the peace of Jerusalem, emphatically.

Nearly allied to this is prayer for a free course to the gospel, and a general diffusion of Christian principles and sentiments throughout the land. This coincides with several important petitions mentioned in the order of the day :—" That through the grace of God's Holy Spirit we may be disposed and enabled to yield a more suitable obedience to his righteous requisitions in time to come"—" That He would interpose to arrest the progress of that impiety, and licentiousness in principle and practice, so offensive to himself, and so ruinous to mankind"—" That He would make us deeply sensible that righteousness exalteth a nation, but that sin is a reproach to any people." It is thus that our country's welfare is prayed for in the highest sense.

The continuance of our important civil establishments must be included, if we wish for peace and not for confusion. And the preservation of our independence must be included : for what will the best systems avail

avail us, if a foreign power can control them, and prostrate our liberties at pleasure? We must implore for "all magistrates, from the highest to the lowest, the true spirit of their station." And doubtless those who bear the chief burdens of government, and have the principal parts to perform, must be earnestly and affectionately remembered. We must pray that this favored country may never want qualified men to fill every important department: that the people may be discerning and faithful enough to elect such men, and no other; and when they are elected, to strengthen their hands by a generous confidence. And we must deprecate "unreasonable discontent, disunion, faction, sedition," for surely these do not accord with the peace of Jerusalem. If we wish for the public prosperity we must pray that God would "preside over the councils of the nation; enlighten them to a just discernment of the public interest; and save them from mistake, division, and discord." It is obvious that, at such a time as this, prayer for a discontinuance of the war so long and unjustly made upon us, must be included: for a cessation of all hostilities, open or covered; and for a blessing in the mean time upon our preparations for defence; upon "our armaments by land and sea:" for the object of these is peace, permanent peace and serenity: and as things now are, we seem to have no other way to it.

There are many other things belonging to our national prosperity which should not be forgotten. The blessing of Heaven upon the earth, upon agriculture, navigation, commerce, fisheries, manufactures, and every branch of lawful industry and enterprize: the continuance of public credit, and a free course of justice so essential to the national welfare; health in our dwellings.—We are very properly led to deprecate a repetition, upon our cities and towns, of those awful pestilential visitations under which they have suffered in past seasons. O that the past may suffice to instruct and reform us; and every other judgment be averted!

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And surely in praying for the public prosperity the rising generation must be remembered;—the hope of our churches, and of our country :—“ *That our sons may be as plants grown up in their youth ; that our daughters may be as corner-stones polished after the similitude of a palace ;*” Psalm cxliv.—That the Lord himself would preside over their education, in families, in schools private and public ; in mercy preserve them from the contagion of licentious and infidel principles and manners ; and form them to “ sound science, morals, and religion.” Finally, we must pray that our rulers, and our nation at large, may know, now and at all times, the things which belong to our peace, in every view, and act accordingly.

Thus far concerning the *object* of prayer. As to the *act itself*, it supposes that our country’s true welfare lies near our hearts ; and that all it’s interests, natural, civil, religious, are truly regarded. Indifference, in this as in other instances, is no fit temper for praying : and certainly an unfriendly temper is not. *Pray*, for they shall prosper that *love* her. Let it be an act of love then, or how shall it claim the blessing ? And let a deep-felt, humble sense of dependence upon sovereign pleasure for all our country’s welfare, pervade all our petitions.

The prayer required is *All prayer and supplication*, as an apostle teaches us. Eph. vi. Social prayer, undoubtedly, where a nation is concerned. There is great weight in those observations in the order of the day. “ It is most reasonable in itself, that men who are made capable of social acts and relations, who owe their improvements to the social state, and who derive their enjoyments from it, should, as a society, make their acknowledgments of dependence and obligation to Him who hath endued them with these capacities, and elevated them in the scale of existence by these distinctions.” Where blessings upon a whole people are to be implored, it is meet that the whole should petition as a collective body, that the prayer may have “ the

“the character of a national act,” as our beloved President expresses it. And each individual should cordially join in these public actions. It is beautiful to see whole nations prostrating themselves before the Sovereign Ruler; and humbly confessing what a drop of the bucket, what dust of the balance, they are before Him; and how soon by one breath of his mouth they disappear. But more is incumbent on us than joining in these public petitions. The heart’s desire and prayer of each individual should be constantly ascending in behalf of our Israel, that it may be saved. Therefore the apostle said, Pray always. Eph. vi.

The reasons in general of this requirement are obvious. It as well becomes nations as single persons to say, O Lord, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou the potter; and we are the work of thy hand. Isa. lxiv:—and collected millions depend as much on their Maker’s smiles, as the weakest individual. *When He giveth quietness, who then can make trouble? and when He hideth his face, who then can behold him, whether it be done against a nation, or against a man only?* Job xxxiv. To implore the divine favor then upon the nation, is a part incumbent upon each individual who belongs to it. He who neglects this, neglects one of the first duties of a citizen. It is not enough to be a well-wisher; we must petition:—our wishes must be sent up to the throne. For what is the import of neglecting to join in a petition to government, deeply interesting to the corporation we belong to, suppose we are *not* disaffected?

But what “a strong sentiment of nature” is it (to borrow the language of the President) “that in circumstances of great urgency, and seasons of imminent danger, earnest and particular supplications should be made to Him who is able to defend and to destroy?” When the ship that was going to Tarshish with Jonah as a passenger, was in danger of sinking, nature itself taught the mariners that every soul on board ought to help with his prayers; and very justly was the slumbering

bering prophet called up with this reproof, What meanest thou, O sleeper? Arise, call upon thy God, if so be that God will think upon us that we perish not. Jonah i.

Such is the voice of nature when the peace of Jerusalem is in danger. At such a time to be prayerless, shews impiety in a strong light; and great want of friendship to our country. Indeed it shews a want of sensibility to one's own true interest; for is not that deeply involved with the interest of our country? It was the divine counsel to the Jews even when captives in Babylon, Seek the peace of the city whither I have caused you to be carried away captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof shall ye have peace. Jer. xxix. How unwise is it then, not to pray for the peace of our own Jerusalem, where we have so many precious liberties that must fare as she fares!

Besides, is not GOD a rewarder of them that diligently seek him? See Hebrews xi. Does not the experience of ages confirm it? Who can tell what blessings a few such good citizens might pray down upon their country at large, and what a generous satisfaction they would derive from it? In all events, it will be a satisfaction to have neglected no duty which the public exigencies enjoin; and to have left our petition, as in duty bound, with Him who is ever gracious, ever faithful. In all events, sincere, humble, public spirited prayer shall not be lost. It will return, with a blessing, into the bosom that breathed it, whatever be the fate of our country.

These are some of the arguments which enforce the duty here enjoined. But *the benediction annexed to it* must have a more particular consideration. And this was the *second* thing noted.

“They shall prosper that love *thee*.” The person is changed (as is common with the Hebrew writers) but the object is the same. They shall prosper that love Jerusalem.

It is not a distinct character that is now introduced. Those that love her, and those who pray for her peace, are supposed to be the same. If we are true friends to our country, we pray for it's happiness, and whatever makes a part of it. And if we *pray* in due manner, for Jerusalem, we are friends in all other respects. Hence the blessing upon them that love her applies for the encouragement of those who pray for her. Still the change of expression leads us to consider the nature of love to our country more at large; and the *various* ways in which it will shew itself: After which we may consider *it's* reward.

The love of our country, like that to individuals, seems to consist in two great branches.

1. *Complacency* in what is estimable in it; it's natural advantages, it's important Constitutions, (as before hinted) it's wholesome laws, and respectable administrations; the many worthy and eminent characters, in various stations; the many institutions for diffusing knowledge; above all, the glorious gospel, and the house of the Lord our God. Love is a spirit of candor, that can appreciate all these, and put a just estimate upon them. And what but ingratitude and a depraved taste can prevent our holding them in high estimation?

The other branch of this love is *good-will*, that wishes and seeks the welfare of one's country; feels for it's interests, desires and endeavors to promote them according to the ability given, or the opportunity; and is ready to defend them. There is indeed a *natural* feeling for those we are connected with, and so for our country that gave us birth, affords us habitation and protection; and sometimes, it may be, wants *our* assistance, be it more or less; which is another natural bond of union. And these natural feelings are desirable and useful. But the kind affection we are now describing is founded in sentiment. It takes reason from God, who has made it our duty to seek, in a particular manner, the peace of the community in which he

he hath placed us. It is founded in a national view of such a multitude of intellectual beings, and the temporal and eternal interests of all of them. And hence it has this distinction, that it regards the various interests of men in some correspondence with their magnitude: their earthly prosperity, as it may be for God's glory and their highest good; but certainly their spiritual and eternal happiness, more than all. For we must not think ourselves true friends to our country, if it's best and highest interests are left out of view. *ratio*

True love to the public is more than what grows out of private affection. Every one wishes well to the ship in which his property, and perhaps his children, are embarked; and the best derive a stimulus from those circumstances. But surely such are not to be the only reasons for wishing well to our country, nor the chief reasons. Surely the interest of millions has a claim to be regarded for it's own sake, and in proportion to it's magnitude.

Complacency has and ought to have great influence into our good wishes, as has been said: but they who would go through in duty must sometimes prepare their minds for a more disinterested exercise, in seeking the good of those who are insensible of what is done for them; perhaps return nothing better than murmurings and reproaches for faithful and important services. Such was the part which Moses in his time was often called to act. And never perhaps does good-will to men appear more godlike, more like to Christ, than in thus persisting to do them good, however required. *thoro*

This brings to observe, that true friendship to one's country requires and implies a selfdenying spirit.— You are ready to take up every proper part which the common good requires of you, either in a public or private character, and to make generous sacrifices of private interest or convenience, and even popularity, as it may be necessary.

And

And certainly true love will feel for our country's distresses, and fly to it's relief. It will excite to prayer, as we have said;—and it will excite to humiliation, to searching and putting away what helps to bring down calamity; and to endeavors to awaken and reform others. And it will produce, at the same time, attention to the natural and proper means of help and relief. It will raise an indignation against those who unjustly disquiet and vex one's country; and a zeal to counteract them by all proper means. In fine, loving our country supposes that we act like friends, generally; as praying for it's peace supposes that we are, in all proper ways, to seek and pursue it.

Let us now consider the blessing annexed to so doing. *They shall prosper that love thee.*

It is not always a prosperity of riches, or affluence of outward things, though perhaps as many of this description are blest with competency, as of any other; and far more with the power of enjoying what they possess. If they are liberal, as we naturally expect, they have not those lusts and vices to maintain, which many are impoverished by; nor those luxuries and expensive amusements. If they devote more of their time to public concerns than others do, they redeem more from unprofitable connexions, and from trifles. And if there is a secret blessing in the house of the righteous, these are the people who share it. There is not always a share in the honors and distinctions of this world. Yet it is from among these, one would think, that considerate men generally aim to make their appointments to important trusts. And often has Providence, in a remarkable manner, called up such to high honors before the world. Instance Joseph, David, Nehemiah, Daniel, Mordecai, and many within our knowledge. These are the persons, however, whom even the multitude, unless abused, and misled, are apt to value: for they are useful, and their worth may be felt. What a good word did the Jews of Capernaum give to the centurion,

tion, when at his request they came to Jesus that he would heal his servant. He is worthy, said they, to have this done for him; for he loveth our nation, and hath built us a synagogue. Luke vii. Thus one of those persons just mentioned has this testimony given him, that he was acceptable to the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people, and speaking peace to all his seed. See the tenth of Esther. But if such acceptance is not always granted, that of the wise and good remains. As far as happiness depends on this, they shall prosper.

But there is a prosperity in a more precious sense, independent of all these. The *soul* prospers by the very exercise of a truly public spirit; and nothing can prevent it. This spirit is congenial with all the sublimest exercises of religion, and does, from its nature, exalt and ennoble the mind, and cultivate every virtuous sentiment. Add to this, that the more you love Jerusalem, the more you are freed from the anxieties and disquietudes of private affection;—and grow in grace; still more united to the general assembly and church of the first-born in the new Jerusalem, and meet for its communion; and the more you *feel* like one of its citizens. This is prosperity in a high sense.

Add to this, that the prayers of these best of friends are many times graciously answered; and then, in the general happiness which they have prayed for, *they* will have peace, and in covenant favor. If not, they are accepted; and their love to their people shall not lose its reward. In all events they shall find an exalted satisfaction in loving their country and the church of God. He who could say, when his country was desolate, If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning (Psalm cxxxvii.) was a happy man, and had an earnest of heaven in those sensations. Yea, in *mourning* like a true friend, over the afflictions of our country, and the state of our Zion, there is a kind of satisfaction, such as the world knows not.

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In fine, they prosper in the best sense who are approved by Heaven. And such are all who truly love Jerusalem. In the darkest seasons they may look up with humble confidence with Nehemiah of old; Think upon me, my God, for good, according to all that I have done for this people. Nay, *all that I have wished to do*, we are allowed to say; for in this case, as in that mentioned by the apostle, 2 Cor. viii. If there be first a willing mind, it is accepted, according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. Sure this is to prosper; to be laying up so fast against the time to come! What then will the finishing be, when the true friend of Jerusalem shall hear those words of approbation, "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will make thee ruler over many things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

P A R T II.

PSALM cxxii. 6.

PRAY FOR THE PEACE OF JERUSALEM: THEY
SHALL PROSPER THAT LOVE THEE.

WE now come to review our subject, and make application.

This sacred text has brought up to our view a duty of common concernment, ~~and~~ most reasonable in itself, and very necessary to be observed by the collective body, and by each individual, as we have seen. Indeed, we ought to consider it as an inestimable privilege; one of the most precious articles in the great charter of liberties which it has pleased Heaven to grant to us.

It is an important sentiment "That a deep sense and a due acknowledgment of the governing Providence of a Supreme Being, and of the accountableness of men to Him as the searcher of hearts, and righteous distributor of rewards and punishments, are conducive equally to the *happiness* and *rectitude* of individuals, and to the well being of communities." The volume of inspiration is full of it; the experience of ages proves it out. And He who calls us to pray to him for private and public blessings, thereby gives us an undeniable token of his readiness to hear. Here also inspiration itself comes in to relieve us of all doubt; I said not unto the seed of Jacob, seek ye me in vain. Isa. xlv. 19. Let us feel these things with proper affection. Let that give meaning and animation to our petitions,
public

public and private: And O that it might put those upon petitioning in earnest, who hitherto have helped their country but little in that way.

To pray for the peace of our Jerusalem is the duty of all times; but now we are called to it specially. It is a time of imminent danger: and the Proclamation which calls us together coincides with the voice of Providence. Let us be thankful for a President, at the Head of these States, who thinks of these things; and calls us to this great duty in a manner so serious and sentimental; so becoming the Chief Magistrate of a nation professing Christianity. The Lord think upon him for this, and for all that he hath done for this people.

If we are to pray for our country, we must feel it's need of mercy; of the atonement which was made for the whole congregation; and the prevailing intercessions of the Great Mediator. We must feel it's need of the Divine Spirit to instruct us how to pray, and confess our sins with becoming humiliation; to prepare us to receive favor, and to govern ourselves properly in time to come. And we must feel our own particular need of these great mercies.

Prayer must be attended with thanksgiving; as the apostle exhorts, Philippians iv. 6. "The countless mercies" God "is still continuing to the people of the United States, and which render their condition eminently happy when compared with the lot of others," must not be forgotten.

The hint in the text must be remembered. Praying for Jerusalem, and loving her, should be connected. It is a foundation-principle that prayer should be attended with right affections, not only toward the Being we pray to, but toward those we pray for. If we are to remember Zion, we must truly regard her welfare. If we are to pray for our country, we must love our country, taking into view all it's interests, spiritual and temporal: otherwise, how shall we petition in due manner?

Besides,

Besides, our prayers and after conduct must agree. It would be a sad circumstance, if after sending up petitions of an important nature, we should be soon found contradicting them by the general spirit and tenor of our actions: if, after praying for our country, we should presently be seen regardless of it's welfare; shrinking from the duties which it's distress demands from us, or wilfully acting against it's essential interests. This is therefore a proper time to rouse ourselves, and call up every rational, every virtuous sentiment and resolution. On the other hand, if we have any love for our country, let us pray for it. It is one of the first duties of friendship. It is not enough to be *heartly* in a political way; to stand up strenuously for the cause, the government, and the measures: Why neglect the duty of petitioning to the Power that can do every thing for this nation, and is ready to do every thing; that *commands* us to call for every aid; and only waits for us to petition in due form and manner?

Have we attended this duty as we ought? If we have not, is it time to awake to it, or is it not time, when the most precious interests of our country are in jeopardy; when the enemy are up and in action by night and by day; and what is doing in secret more threatening, in all probability, than what appears openly?

Thus far indeed there is no actual invasion of our territories. But a war of a more pernicious kind is continued with redoubled exertion; a war of intrigue, which corrupts the minds and hearts of our people, depraves their sentiments, detaches them from their best friends and best interests; makes them their own enemies; and puts daggers into their hands to stab their country:—a war which undermines our foundations, and will, if it can have time enough, produce a fatal explosion: In short, which instead of only threatening, like other wars, a distress of a few years, threatens the undoing of this happy Jerusalem for ages, if not forever.

forever. Depredations on *commerce* are hard ; but they do not demoralize. If they impoverish our people, they may leave them honest men and good citizens. Besides, we may know how to meet open hostilities ; and we may know when they are at an end. But vile serpentine intrigue—who can trace it into all it's dark corners, and ferret it out of it's sly lurking-places ? And who can be sure that there is ever an end of it, after being certain that there has been a beginning, and a long series of it ; and that it has been but too successful ?*

Humiliating as the thought is, it has been successful enough to produce and keep up a division in our country and in our councils (in favor of the intriguing power) as alarming as it is disgraceful. It is busy and active in the extreme : far more, in general, than the patriotism which ought to watch over and counter-act it. It operates by a variety of ways and means ; it employs numerous agents.

I have no conception that all, whom it takes in, mean to be unfriendly to their country. A good man may be deceived into that which he never would have done with his eyes open. But it is too visible that there are those, in various parts of America, who cordially second the views of it's enemies. Witness the conduct of some of our most informed citizens ; and witness those presses whose prime object it appears to be, to promote foreign influence ; to discolour the characters and the actions of the best men in the government ; and justify and celebrate the French in all their enormities : to collect from all parts of the continent every publication which may serve those intentions : nothing too uncandid or indecent, provided it abuse their own government ; nothing too absurd or perverse, if only it exalt the other.†

It is no wonder that any person who depends upon such sources for his information should be disaffected to

* See the Note A in the Appendix.

† See Note B.

to the government and to it's measures : I should, did I so depend. But the consequences, however, are most serious. In a time which calls loudly for united exertions against hostilities of a most dangerous nature, we are a divided people ; and every single measure which goes to the common defence has been disputed ; notwithstanding it is so obvious that preparation for defence is all we have now to depend on, under Providence ; every condescension, and every attempt at negociation having proved ineffectual.*

Insurrections have been excited ; and, what is still more extraordinary, a system has been formed for inducing the State Legislatures to assume the power of arraigning and reprobating the acts of the general government. And because this, upon a first trial, has failed ; the object now is to produce as many changes as possible in the State elections, that the matter may be tried again ; or other propositions brought forward which will be equally flattering to the common enemy.†

So active is foreign influence, and so alarming alarm has it extended itself : though I charitably believe that many who have been made parties to these designs, do not know that they are laying down their country's dearest liberties at the feet of that power which has trodden upon so many other.

Would any one have believed that the same zeal would have extended to reprobating (by way of those prostituted presses) the act of our great and good President in recommending a National Fast, at such a critical period, and in circumstances of so great urgency, as the present ? This has been done however ; and those unblushing papers have been circulated far and wide. My God ! what absurdities of irreligion will the zeal of opposition run to ! Is this the spirit of men who love their country ? Is Jerusalem in her distress not to have the consoling privilege of calling upon her God ? Shall *families* and *States* offer up their united petitions, and the *nation* be an atheist ?‡

But

* See Note C.

† See Note D.

‡ See Note E.

But the most alarming circumstance of the present time seems to be "the dissemination of those principles, subversive of the foundations of all religious, moral, and social obligations, which have produced incalculable mischief and misery in other countries." We here, through the mercy of God, see but little of this. And probably one reason may be, that the enemy have thought it of the most consequence to address their poison to the great cities. But the President knows the state of the country; nor is he alone in this view of it: Intelligence of the same nature comes from almost every quarter. I have lately seen a letter from one of our most informed circles, which contains this serious paragraph; "Can the period be mentioned, when generally through the Christian world, and in our own country particularly, atheists dared openly to avow their detestable principles, and to glory in the prospect of their dissemination through the world? When infidels were so numerous, so fast increasing, so bold, so insidious, and industrious in disseminating their opinions; and when the various pernicious fruits and effects of their efforts were so visible, as at the present time?"—It appears likewise that good men at the southward are impressed with the same idea, and solicitous for ways and means of stemming the dreadful torrent.

It would be unjust, no doubt, to charge all this evil to foreign influence. But how distressing is it to be assured that, in addition to the natural growth of our own soil, it has for years been a part of the French revolutionizing system to disseminate infidel and atheistical principles in this favored land; that numbers of their people who have come hither, have applied themselves to this horrid work; and that many thousand copies, at one time, of an insinuating infidel book, printed at Paris in the English language, were sent to America to be sold very cheap, or given away: In consequence of which, several editions of the same work have been printed here, and zealously dispersed.*

I make

* See Note F.

I make no apology for being particular upon the state of our country. It is necessary that you should be apprized of it; or, if apprized already, view it afresh, that you may pray over it with the more solicitude. Were we called to special prayer on account of some awful pestilence, it would naturally be expected that a view should be taken of it's malignant nature and destructive progress; that all might feel the calamity, and carry it with due solicitude to the throne of grace; and might be apprized the more readily of every duty to which such a state of things called them. To me it appears equally natural and necessary—and for the same reasons—to take a view, on the present occasion, of the malignant and wide-spread contagion just mentioned; and to trace, in some measure, it's horrible progress.

I am aware there are those who still think that little is to be apprehended from the French; that they are well disposed and pacific; and there might soon be an accommodation, if America took the right way for it.—And this is among the circumstances which shew in a yet stronger light our imminent danger; and still more, if some good men are of this opinion. It was such confidence as this, extended beyond all reasonable bounds, which was the ruin of Switzerland; and prevented that brave people from making such preparation for defence, and such a respectable resistance, as they certainly would, had they opened their eyes in time to their imminent danger. They had seen enough and enough to destroy all confidence; and so have we. We have moreover their fatal mistake and catastrophe to give us warning. And how long is this good opinion of an unprincipled, insidious foe (who has deceived so many countries to their destruction) to be maintained? And how long is a distrust of the information, the discernment, and the integrity of our most wise and faithful and long-tried friends to prevail; and the necessary means of safety to be disputed?*

Have

* See Note G.

Have those people, who are thought to be so pacific, ever once put themselves in an attitude for amicable negotiation? Have they acted like men who were in earnest for it? If they have, how comes it not to be effected? The door has always been open on our part; and the earnest endeavors used by our government are well known. The instructions of the President, even a Gallatin confesses, were liberal enough. Our Envoys have been treated as they have been: and what has France done since, that manifests a better disposition? There was great show, no doubt, of readiness to treat with one of our Envoys alone; and there was a frequent urging of it, *after he had declared that he could not treat as an Envoy, in that situation*; and when it was well known that he ought not. He urged and urged again for some proposition to be made for his government to consider; but nothing of this kind could be obtained. Other appearances have been put on since, with a chicanery staring through them which insults every understanding.* But has there ever been a discontinuance of depredations? Instead of this, in the midst of fair professions, a horrid invasion has been planned, by way of the West-Indies; and the negroes of the southern States were to have been stirred up and armed against their masters before this time, had not a merciful Providence interposed to prevent it. (See by the way, how the confidence of our southern brethren is to be rewarded!) And still the idea of obtaining foot-hold at the southward is kept up: and the pretended overtures of peace since, *without taking one direct step to effect it*, are but too plainly intended to amuse, to render us insensible of our danger, divide our councils, relax the spirit of defence, and gain time for the employment of that pernicious "*skill*" which has cheated so many other nations out of their dearest liberties.

It

* See Mr. Secretary Pickering's late Report to Congress on French affairs;—that part in particular which relates to the pretended relief given to our commerce!!!

It was in the midst of preparations for treading down Switzerland, that the same Talleyrand, of whom you have heard so often, wrote to it's government in this style, by an ambassador whom he sent to them ; "*That the mission of that envoy should have no other object than to seize every opportunity of expressing the sincere wishes of the Executive Directory for the prosperity of the worthy Helvetic Body.*" And Mengaud, the envoy, in a letter to the Chancery of Zurich, expressly disclaimed, and in the strongest terms, every idea of invasion. Many believed him ; and by that belief the whole were undone. It cannot be pretended that we have stronger or better assurances than they had ; and if we, after such exhibitions of horrid perfidy, will yet confide, and not awake to the means of safety, we shall deserve the same fate.*

But suppose we are apprized of our danger, there are other questions which we have to ask ourselves. Have we felt, as we ought, the hand of God in these things ; and the just displeasure for our manifold sins which has moved him to permit this fore and humiliating correction ?†

Have we mourned, and do we mourn, with suitable contrition, our own transgressions, and those of the land ?

Our own must be many upon every supposition. If we are not plain rebels, how do our backslidings reprove us ! If we are, in what light must our whole lives appear !

The sins of our land are many, all must confess. Much has been given ; much will be required : And what a falling short is there in every part ! Our positive provocations how numerous ! and all aggravated by meridian light ; and by pre-eminent advantages, natural, political, and spiritual. What nation ever possessed better means of being truly happy ? What people have enjoyed greater prosperity than we, in the general, for a course of years ?

But

* See Note H.

† See Note I.

But alas ! the declension from the piety of our fathers ! The insensibility to the favors conferred ! The lukewarmness of some Christians ; the unexemplariness of many professors !—The spirit of primitive Christianity, so striking to beholders, whither has it fled ? How does the want of brotherly love ; of mutual fidelity and watchfulness in churches, and of pious instruction and government in families, cry against those of whom the best things are expected !

And alas for the general inattention ! The avowed infidelity of some ; the disesteem of the gospel and its institutions, so flagrant in others : the disregard to the sanctity of the Sabbath ; the profanity so offensive to Almighty God ; the intemperance by which many, who might be useful, unman and destroy themselves ; the sensuality ; the want of chastity ; the unfaithfulness ; the luxury and dissipation ; the rage for amusement ; the ambition of earthly honors and figure ; the inordinate pursuit of the wealth of this world, to the neglect of the true riches ; the injustice and oppression in the way of business ; the want of mercy, and of the spirit of doing good : In fine, the selfishness ; the neglect of the golden rule of doing to others as we would that they would do to us ; the ingratitude of too many to the government which protects them ; and the too frequent want in them that love the government—of that ardent affection to their country and its precious interests, which can deny every interfering gratification !

In the view of these things how ought we to be affected ? How would such a one as Ezra express himself, were he to lead in the supplications of this day ? “ O my God, I am ashamed and blush to lift up my face unto thee, my God : for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our trespass is grown up unto the heavens.” See chap. ix. May we be affected in like manner, and humbly submissive to the just hand of Heaven in the present calamity : and let it be our first care that all offensive evil be put away, and the
divine

divine displeasure removed. Let our first petition be for a radical reform ; a revival, by the Spirit of all grace, of Christian piety and virtue, in ourselves and our people :* for how otherwise can we expect to see true peace and prosperity ?

At the same time, the flagrant injustice of man, in what we are now suffering, ought to give us confidence in carrying our cause to God that he would plead it for us ; and a firm hope that he will, if our sins *against Him* do not prevent ; for, as to the present controversy, never, I believe, had America a cause more just. It has moreover, like that of ancient Jerusalem, an intimate connexion with the glory of God, the honor of his religion, and the dearest welfare and liberties of mankind at large ; which is another great argument of confidence. The counsel of Eliphaz then may be applied emphatically in such a cause. " I would seek unto God, and unto God would I commit my cause : who doeth great things and unsearchable ; marvellous things without number. He disappointeth the devices of the crafty, so that their hands cannot perform their enterprize : He taketh the wise in their own craftiness, and the counsel of the forward is carried headlong——." Job v.

We must *continue in prayer* in a time which calls so loudly for it : Whether there should not be in every circle, frequent convocations for special prayer, may deserve our consideration.—O Cleaveland ! our father !† Are we to see his face no more ? How every mention of prayer for our country tells us what we have lost in him who felt so deeply for it's welfare, and prayed for it with such fervor ! But let his memory rather stimulate than discourage us. Think *how he prospers now*, who so eminently loved Jerusalem while he lived !

To return : We must pray that Jerusalem may extend itself ; that the liberties, civil and religious, with
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* See Note P.

† The Rev. John Cleaveland, of Chebacco, who died two days before the Fast.

which we and other enlightened nations are distinguished, may bless the world.

We must pray for our enemies too: And it will be a happy attainment, if no depredations or outrages upon our citizens, no insults offered to our government, or it's messengers of peace; nor deep-laid plots against our liberties; nor the greatest injury that can possibly be attempted by one nation upon another,—that of corrupting the hearts of it's people, and spreading among them such horrid principles;—can abate the ardor of our wishes that the blessings of true liberty, good government, and undefiled religion, may be extended to them:—that France may yet become a province of the Redeemer's empire; and it's present rulers either converted, or driven from their seats, in mercy to the nation and to mankind.*

In the mean time, let the example of Nehemiah teach us what should be the concomitants of prayer, when we are beset by such an enemy: See chap. iv. 9. "We made our prayer unto our God, and SET A WATCH AGAINST THEM DAY AND NIGHT BECAUSE OF THEM." If there was ever a time which called for vigilance, the present is such a time; when the enemy are so active and indefatigable; their manœuvres so many and various; and a bold, open onset so much to be expected, as soon as dark intrigue shall have paved the way for it. We must watch then, in the first place, against that intrigue.†

But this is not all. If we wish for peace and quietness, we must be in a posture to repel the invader. Government, *who understand the times*, have determined it; and all their brethren, as in good old days, *should be at their commandment*. See 1 Chron. xii. 32. If any imagine that praying for Jerusalem's peace is to preclude the natural means of defence, it is not from David that they have learned this: all know that his practice was far different.

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* See Note J.

† See Note K.

The experience of ages proves that a nation which would live in peace, must be prepared to repel invasion. What else indeed is the language of those *training-days* to which we have been familiarized ever since we were children? But threatened, as we now are, by a people of such boundless ambition, and with whom no rights are sacred, who can think of being safe without *special* preparation? And since this lot is appointed to us by All-wise Providence, let us patiently submit to it, as becomes true friends to their country. Surely those cannot be such, who would commit it's dignity and dearest liberties to the mercy of such an encroacher.*

Let us look to it that we are friends to our country in every view: that it's religious interests have that high consideration which they merit; that our civil Constitutions, approved by so many years' experience, are duly appreciated: and let us, like faithful citizens, stand by the Administration, while such wisdom, ability, and integrity mark it's footsteps; for to whom else, under Providence, are we to look for the maintenance of our rights against foreign invaders, and for necessary arrangements and protection in the hour of danger?†

I will not exhort *you*, my brethren, not to oppose or depreciate the laws, or calumniate and vilify those men who have been the chief supporters of our liberty, and long and uniformly labored for their country's good. I will not ask *you* not to countenance those who do. But I call upon you to shew a little more of generous Christian indignation at such licentious conduct. Every sentiment of gratitude and of justice, of honor and of order, demand this of us; and our own peace and safety require it: for how can a republican government be long maintained, if such abuses are tolerated?

At the same time, let me pray you, my brethren, as you love your country, never to commit it's high concerns

* See Note L.

† See Note M.

cerns to men who do not feel for it's interests, and in some proportion to their magnitude. Let the elections be attended faithfully ; and, as far as in *you* lies, let such men be chosen as the sacred oracles describe, See Exodus xviii. 21.—It is a hint of particular consequence in such a state of things as the present, when our chief danger perhaps arises from the contagion of irreligious and infidel sentiments. He who does not heartily detest them is too frigid a statesman for these times. He who favors them, though he may think himself a federalist, is gone over to the enemy in the main point, and is by no means to be entrusted with any principal part in government.*

If we love our country, let us look well to the rising generation, upon whom the conduct of affairs, both in Church and State, will shortly be devolved : and train them up in the fear of God, in the knowledge of their Redeemer and Sanctifier ; in the principles of order, and respectful love to good government. Let us have a care to whom we commit our children and youth ; and especially guard them (by an early impression of the spirit and glory of the gospel) against the infidelity and irreligion of the times, more malignant and destructive than the pestilence.

In fine, if we love our country, let us unite, like a band of brothers, for it's defence ; take up cheerfully every part which the public necessities assign to us ; and be ready to encounter every danger for the maintenance of those precious liberties which we have received in trust to be delivered down to posterity. It is not now a time to be terrified by a little inconvenience, or a little expense ; no ; nor by a great deal. The clamors which are set up for that purpose, should " pass by " us " as the idle wind which " we " respect not."

For encouragement both to prayer and to faithful exertion, we have the blessing here pronounced on them who love their country. We have the clear justice of our

* See Note N.

our cause, as above hinted; it's intimate connexion with the glory of God, and the welfare of mankind at large.* The insulting pride, the hypocrisy of the French government, contrasted with the moderation, the condescension, and integrity of our own, come in to our encouragement. All that seems wanting is that we wait upon the Sovereign Arbiter in due order.

In vain do we hope to prosper against the French, if we mean to be like them in their irreligion. But would we put away every provoking evil, and return to God; would we rally round the standard of a SAVIOR and *his* precious Constitutions—his Gospel, his Sabbath—and *so* meet the invaders; we have every thing to hope for. We know that *they* have declared war against God, and planted their standard in opposition to his. We are sure that the Almighty is against them in what they are now doing; and if we are content to be on the Lord's side, He will be with *us*, and appear for our deliverance; and that government which of late exalted itself in such haughtiness, and threatened with such an air of confidence, may meet such a sentence as the Assyrian king once met after threatening Israel in like manner. "The virgin, the daughter of Zion, hath despised thee; the daughter of Jerusalem hath shaken her head at thee." Isa. xxxvii. 22.

When this shall be realized, with what joyful confidence will those lift up their heads, who have been true friends to their country, and stood by her through all her conflicts!

On the other hand, how much are those to be pitied who are of the opposite character! who are too dissipated, or too absorbed in private concerns, to feel for their country! or, if they feel, in some sort, are not friendly enough to pray for her; nor self-denying enough to abstain from those guilty pleasures which help to bring down divine judgments upon the land! Those in particular who give way to prejudice, and wilfully shut their eyes to the means of information;

* See Note O.

tion : and those above all, who, with their eyes open, willingly counteract their country's dearest interests, and would lay them down at the feet of the usurper ; opposing in the mean time the necessary measures of national safety ; and cherishing unreasonable jealousies against those best of friends, who have ably and faithfully protected, and still protect, *their* rights and liberties. These are not the people described in the text : and I am sure this is not the way to prosper. In a land of such privileges, and under such a government, there is surely a high degree of guilt in it : a guilt enhanced by the blood expended to obtain this free government ; and by all the prayers and vows we put up when we were struggling for it. And it is a guilt much increased by the magnitude of our present dangers ; which calls so loudly for union, and a firm support of the government.

Besides, indulging to such disaffection has a pernicious effect on the mind. An American, looking with a malignant eye on as eminent public characters as any country in modern times has beheld ; and depreciating to the lowest their talents, their virtues, and the important fruits of their administration ;—and, on the other hand, admiring the French ; and, through that partiality, reconciling his mind by degrees to the infidelity and irreligion, the thin-covered despotism, the lawless ambition, the rapacity, the falsehood and treachery, and all the bloody enormities, of their government ;—such an American is in the high road to greater depravation than is readily conceived : and what an education is this to give to his children !

Save us, O Lord, from deception, and from every partial bias. Let not the common enemy derive confidence any longer from our divisions : but unite this favored people in all those virtuous sentiments which true love to their country can inspire ; and let the peace and safety of this Jerusalem be precious in thine eyes to the latest ages, through the Great Mediator.

A M E N.

A P P E N D I X

Containing Illustrations upon some Particulars in the Discourse.

NOTE A. Page 18.

IT appears by the answer of Administration to the notes of the French minister Adet, (see p. 71 of the Boston edition) and by other documents which have been some time before the public, that French intrigue began it's operations in this country very soon upon our being connected with that nation; and, as early as the year 1782, had prevailed, after much exertion, to produce a resolve of Congress, which, *by the letter of it*, committed the terms of our peace with Britain entirely to the direction of France (so unbounded was the confidence of that time!) In consequence of which, France, at the negotiation while we in America were pouring out encomiums on our magnanimous Ally, was intriguing with the British to prevent an acknowledgment of American independence; and in fact exerted herself, much more than Britain did, to deprive us of an honorable establishment; and would have reduced us to a servile dependence on herself, had not the sagacity and the firm patriotism of our plenipotentiaries, Mr. Adams and Mr. Jay, prevailed over her insidious policy. This, by the way, naturally accounts for the unforgiving hatred of the French and their partizans, to those great men: and it proves, at the same time, what a lasting monument of honor ought to be erected to them in every bosom; if it is not erected already.

The French Convention itself has confessed, in plain terms, that THE SUPPORT AFFORDED BY FRANCE TO THE UNITED STATES, IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE, WAS ONLY THE FRUIT OF A BASE SPECULATION; and that THEIR AMBASSADORS BORE THE CRIMINAL ORDERS OF STOPPING THE CAREER OF OUR PROSPERITY. But looking over the series of intrigues continued ever since, we are compelled to consider that very confession as a *blind* to keep from our sight the arts of the new government, that they might ensnare us the more effectually: as the recal of Genet was intended to raise our confidence, that his successor might proceed with better effect, in his mischievous doings.

NOTE B. Page 18.

POISONING the sources of information, and misrepresenting public men and measures, are among the greatest mischiefs that can be committed in a republic; it being so obviously necessary that the people, who are to elect the government, should be well informed: and so certain that as far as they are misled, bad elections and confusion will ensue. All this our enemies know; and therefore misrepresentation, through public prints and other more secret channels of communication, has been their sheet-anchor. All the base passions have been put in motion;

tion; and *jealousy* has been extolled as the first of political virtues. It is past a doubt that great part of our political divisions has arisen from this source. And it is now a serious question, whether such a licentiousness shall be restrained, or have it's full latitude:—For if public opinion repeals the statute, prosecutions at common law will not be encouraged: And so there will be no restraint. If gentlemen see no danger in this, they must say so. If religion approves it, be it so: Or if republicans think it the part of honor to see *their own government* insulted, and not resent it, they must act accordingly.—The very clamors against the Sedition-Act shew that a check of that nature was necessary. The enemy find themselves interrupted in a darling pursuit; and are vexed at it. But no honest man desires a liberty which that law does not leave to him. He who wishes for the privilege of calumniating, is a tyrant, not a friend of liberty. (See a late speech of Judge Addison of Pennsylvania.) But never did a government appear in a more honest point of view, than our's in the sedition-law; as, in every prosecution for calumny, it submits *itself* to trial, and the defendant is at full liberty to substantiate his opprobrious assertions before a jury, and, in that way, bring himself off, if he can.

Were it simply a question of *self-defence*, the suggestion that the federal government has no power of defending itself against such abuses, amounts to a suggestion that it has not the power of executing it's trust; viz. that of protecting all the States; (for it can never do this, if it cannot defend itself, and it is not at leisure to go to Kentucky for protection.) In short, it amounts to an assertion, that the federal government has not a power of self-defence equal to that of a justice's court.

But it is more than a question of self-defence. It is a question of general order and necessity.

NOTE C. Page 19.

“**THAT** preparation for defence is all we have now, under Heaven, to depend upon.” This implies, it is confessed, very small confidence in the circuitous overtures made by the way of Holland; however proper it might be in the Executive to preclude every pretext for complaint by a provisional appointment of envoys on the part of the United States. Sincere or insincere, the change of style in the French government is manifestly owing to the spirit shewn by the American people, and the spirited means adopted by the government, upon being threatened with the fate of Venice, in case of not resigning our neutrality, and our independence. It therefore strongly urges a continuance in the same line. If it preserves us from greater encroachments, it is well: it is certain that tame submission would not. If a solemn war must come on, we are in a proper situation to meet it.

NOTE D. Page 19.

IT is well for the Union, and for Virginia herself, that the late Resolutions, passed in her Assembly, are so well corrected by an enlightened minority; and that so many of her citizens at large have just

just conceptions. Certainly those resolutions will be reconsidered in proper time. The idea of controlling, by her *State power*, combined with that of other States, the acts of the general government, was certainly a sudden thought, if not in the planners of those resolutions, yet in great part of those who adopted them. The people, when they set up the federal government, never thought of committing such a power to any State legislatures, nor to any number of them. But we will never despair of good old Virginia, while such eminent characters in government, and well-known kindred spirits out of it, live and have influence there.

NOTE E. Page 19.

IT has been urged, against Proclamations by the President, for national Fasts and Thanksgivings, that there is no constitutional authority for them. And what if gentlemen should go on and make the same objection to Proclamations for State Fasts and Thanksgivings? The truth is that the Constitution of the Commonwealth, and that of the Union, are both silent upon these subjects. The Proclamations therefore proceed upon the law of nature; upon Scripture example; upon the footing of ancient usage and obvious propriety; and by way of recommendation only. But if ancient usage, and nature, and Scripture, are to determine, who will say that it is not as proper for the Nation as such to acknowledge it's God and Father, as for a part of the nation; a State, or a family? If the nation are to acknowledge God, who so proper to call them to it as the President? And how comes it that his Proclamation shall not go *as direct* to the people for such a purpose, as for other national purposes?

NOTE F. Page 20.

On the dissemination of infidel principles by the French government.

EITHER they have embraced those horrid principles themselves, or they have not. If they have *not*, still they rightly judge that Americans will never resign their independence and their precious Constitutions, till they have given up their religion and their consciences; and therefore must be corrupted before they can be enslaved. If they are atheists themselves, then expect a zeal for the propagation of their wild ideas (however it be accounted for) far exceeding that of the most flaming sectaries or enthusiasts in religion. Expect a warmth of imagination, which can contemplate it as the supreme good to an individual, and the crowning glory of a republic, to be freed from all the restraints and shackles of religion. The well-known speech of Anacharsis Cloots, pronounced in the National Convention, and printed by their order, shews both him and them to have been warmed up in this manner. Some of our own modern philosophers are much wronged if they have not caught some sparks of the same fire. It was thus that the human imagination was corrupted and inflamed in the first instance; "*Your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as Gods.*" And it is thus that credulous Americans are to be prepared to go over to those illuminated reformers who are themselves so un-

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shackled;

shackled ; and embrace that order of things which they are aiming to establish throughout the world. May gracious Heaven blast their horrid designs ! Hitherto it is to be hoped that Americans, generally, can see (and the more clearly by what has been exhibited in Europe) that irreligion at once destroys dignity and consistency of character ; that a nation which would maintain morality enough to save it from confusion, must keep up religious order : that if religion is to be kept up, the gospel must be held sacred ; and that atheism and infidelity, in a land which has had the gospel, have a near connexion. What else indeed but a falling off, more or less, from the first principles of natural religion, can induce one, after he has looked at it, to reject a revelation, which exhibits the divine perfections and all the beauties of holiness in so clear and strong a light ?—A further illustration of this thought may be seen in an excellent Sermon of Dr. Tappan from John xiv. 1. printed in 1792, and worthy of an attentive review at the present time. See particularly p. 25. of that Sermon.

NOTE G. Page 21.

HOW unreflecting are some political writers of the time, who are abundant in inculcating jealousy over their own government, chosen from among themselves, and having a common interest with their constituents ; a government which, at short periods, may be changed at pleasure ; and over which the people have at all times so many and powerful checks ; a government which naturally cares for us ; a government which pays homage to the gospel ;—And at the same time are urging, at least indirectly, an unlimited confidence in a foreign power, over which we have no control ; over which it's own constituents have no control ; a power, by which all the other constituted authorities are overawed ; who considers it as a valuable interest to depress and plunder us ;—And whose system it is to serve itself of all nations ; a power elated with success ; and which has threatened *us* with the fate of other republics whom it has made miserable ; a power which has proved itself perfidious to the United States and to other nations ; and knows that we know it ; (which is another strong argument that France will never forgive us :) a power which explodes the law of nations ; which is faithless and oppressive to it's allies ; and ruins every thing that depends upon it : in fine, which has no fear of God to restrain it, nor fear of man.

NOTE H. Page 23.

IN reviewing Switzerland, especially in the late History by Mallet Du Pan, many interesting lessons crowd upon us : And all who would make up their minds justly upon the present situation of America should read that history ; and not only read but study it.

A first lesson is, how impossible it is for any nation, over which the French can hope to prevail, to escape their revolutionizing assumingness and domination. If being eminently free and happy (and such not only Du Pan, but the Bishop of Asaph has pronounced Switzerland to have been) could have induced the professed friends of liberty to let them alone ; surely they had a claim to be undisturbed. Or if

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being inoffensive could have saved them; never perhaps was a nation more so. Yet we see very early the restless ambition of the French disorganizers attempting to blow up every little spark of mal-contentment in that country; and establish a revolutionary party, with a view to bring the Swiss over to *their* wild principles, and prepare the way for their subjugation. And we see a communication between those disaffected and the mad clubs of Paris;—The Swiss Club, so called, the Constitutional Club, and the Club of Jacobins; and the plan of a Representative Convention for a part of Switzerland, actually traced out, by one of the base agents of the French. As early as the year 1789. "The fire-brand," says the historian, "was immediately extinguished, but it's disseminators, encouraged by the moderation of the government, and by the protection which France offered to the seditions of all countries, continued their plots."

A second lesson is, what a slender defence against such encroachers is a passive, tame neutrality; not "commanding respect by manly means" (as the historian has it) "but relying on humility to ward off danger; and exposing a defenceless State to the mercy of pretensions, insults, and events!" We are instructed how dangerous it is to fear a lawless encroacher; what an unpromising mean this is of maintaining peace; how necessary it is to resist the first usurpations and insults; and how much more those shall have to bear, who do not resist. "The French," says Du Pan, "dared every thing, because Switzerland dared nothing."

Further, we have an idea of the steps by which these revolutionizing chiefs lead on nations to their destruction. The first step is to seduce as many as possible by French principles, by absurd ideas of liberty and equality; by branding those as aristocrats who do not join them; by inculcating excessive jealousy of their rulers; and by exciting discontent. For this clubs are formed, and libels circulated. A next step is insult. If they resent it, there will be a pretence for going to war with them: if they bear it tamely, it is an encouragement to farther abuses. In this way the Swiss were early put to the trial; and the passive neutrality which they resolved to maintain notwithstanding, emboldened the great nation to proceed.

It is a favorite object of French policy to make the most of the rivalries and jealousies subsisting between different parts of the same nation; and to nourish them. With this view the French, as early as 1792 established a party at Zurich, where there was most of partiality to their nation, and where the energy, manifested at Berne, was disliked: and this party sought and found recruits in the principal Helvetic governments. The ambassador of France took the direction of this party.

It is a capital object to vilify and pull down, by their agents, the first and best men who stand in their way. "Their whole force was employed," says the historian, "to ruin at Berne the credit of the *Avoyer de Steiguer*, whose abilities, experience, services, and character, had obtained him the highest respect both in Switzerland and among foreigners." "This great citizen became the focus of French enmities, and of the assaults of a party which unfolded itself with all
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the characteristics of a faction." And this party, it seems, took for a chief another magistrate, distinguished for his eloquence, knowledge, and ability, but angry at being reduced to take an under part. He naturally drew a train after him. "The government was split;" and "public deliberations became texts for controversies." M. de Steiguer, the historian tells us, was represented by the party "as the instigator of war; who, on the contrary, was anxious to prevent the necessity of it by a conduct that would have put Switzerland in a condition not to fear its consequences. Themselves they painted to the nation as the preservers of its tranquillity against ambitious disturbers devoted to the quarrel of the allies. Rendered popular by this pacific affectation, they endeavoured to persuade the people that *their* enemies were the enemies of the nation. The weak and peaceful were dazzled with the view of an endless peace: the profits of neutrality were demonstrated to the avaricious: those who were enemies to the French revolution were convinced," [or made to believe] "that the way to escape was to court it; and the partisans of its doctrines were shewn the influence it would have upon liberal reforms." "And thus," says our author, "the French party, sacrificing the honor, the independence, the future tranquillity, and the destiny, of their country, to the foolish hope of purchasing favor for the State by its submission, opened the first breach. They broke the Helvetic unity, extinguished generous sentiments, decried thoughts truly patriotic, persisted from pride in their undeceived credulity; and still invoking the probity of the French republic, awoke from their five years' dream, presiding at the obsequies of Switzerland."

It was one powerful mean of promoting the French cause in Switzerland to irritate the people against the emigrants, and against the combined powers:—to persuade them "that the cause of French anarchy was the cause of all republics against kings; and that the war was a conspiracy of despots. These absurdities," says our author, disseminated by the emissaries of France, were received by credulous minds, and propagated by *philosophy-reasoners*. "Zurich suffered, under the eyes of its government, a seditious paper, in which the principles and enormities of the revolution were daily extolled, and the allied powers often insulted. The public mind was left to the impression of those envenomed writers." The ambassador of France was active beyond all others; the whole legation intriguing; their accomplices ever busy.

Things being thus prepared, now come complaints and unreasonable demands, which may be considered as the signal for a rupture. Among other things, Berne must dismiss the ambassador of Britain, and make that power her enemy. *The French "were at work,"* says the history, "for a pretence for invasion, and then to clear the way by revolutionary expedients." Part of the object was to throw the blame of the rupture upon the innocent Swiss; and therefore a "*skill*" must be employed to entangle them. They must "prolong their confidence" too, "by pacific protestations; they must divide, as much as possible,

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the members of the union, "kill Switzerland by her own means, and crush her as she is expiring." Now intrigues are redoubled, and now come on imperious requisitions, as insulting in the form as in the substance. Vile traitors are employed in the mean time in the business of inflaming factions. If ambassadors are sent to France, fresh insults and new demands are the consequence :—"the intention of the Directory being to insult the Swiss till their resentment should furnish them with some pretence for invasion." Still there were those who "talked of the generosity of the Directory," believed them to be pacific, and were "afraid of offending their enemy by preventing their attempts." In order to prolong this delirium, the minister Talleyrand sends his envoy with the very extraordinary declaration stated above ; and by this the devoted Cantons were laid asleep, till sudden invasion awaked them. Yet think not that when the sword is unsheathed, the arts of deception are of course laid aside. Intrigues yet more infernal remain to be told.

The French General Brune, who was to complete the conquest of the unhappy Swiss, was introduced to them *as a peace-maker*. And this part he pretended to act, with great apparent moderation, and even with tenderness. When deputies were sent to him, "*he approved of their demands,*" and promised peace on the most equitable terms ; *but lamented the necessity of dispatching a courier to the Directory for larger powers.* "The object of this deceitful farce was to gain time for the arrival of the troops from the Rhine, to relax the preparations of the Swiss, and, while these hypocritical negotiations were going on, to do every thing to corrupt the troops, the people, and the Senate." A truce of 15 days was signed ; and, in that interim, "suspensions were sown on all sides. It was insinuated to the soldiers and the country people, *that the government wished the revolution, that they were calling in the French, that they were giving up the people to them, and only kept the troops under arms to worry them with fatigue, and make them unable to fight.* At the inns, on chimney-pieces, and even in their pockets, the Bernese soldiers found printed hand-bills, asserting that their leaders were betraying them." When, after the shew of waiting for powers, he had presented an *ultimatum* which could not be accepted ; now he is *a friend to the people, and an enemy to the government only*. He guarantees, by Proclamation, to the citizens, their personal safety, property, religion, and independence ; and calls upon them to "*be free.*" And having thus, by the snare of negotiation, by pretended amity, and by every engine of deception set at work in the mean time,—produced a most disheartening fluctuation in the public councils, an actual dissolution of the government, and great perplexity and confusion among the people ; the finishing stroke is to make the poor soldiers believe that the OFFICERS betrayed them. Thousands of forged letters were dispersed for this purpose. This breaks the army, and ultimately produces the assassination of several of its bravest officers. Among the rest was the commander in chief, the brave *d'Erlach* ; that general, who, on being summoned, a short time before, to
surrender

surrender Morat, had made this generous reply ; " My ancestors never surrendered ;"—who now had been most importunate with the Swiss government to permit him to act with spirit ; and who had repeatedly fought the enemy with great resolution, though under every disadvantage.

Thus was poor Switzerland betrayed ; and " too late repented having slighted the counsels of the real friends of the country : " and thus may other nations, however brave, be intrigued into ruin, and deprived of the power of defending themselves. The sequel of the history will shew whether the French were better friends to the people than to the rulers. One thing is certain, that the Swiss, believing them such, contributed, in no small degree, to their ruin. And no trace can be seen of their amity to the people afterward. The history will tell what general distress and wretchedness, what intolerable requisitions, what doubled and trebled plunderings, and what varieties of outrage every where marked the footsteps of those "*deliverers* ;"—and how hollow were all their fair promises.

Switzerland

If the question be asked, what was the error of the Swiss ; it was that of not resisting the first encroachments. It was that of not putting herself in a more independent situation. It was an error *to fear*, where there were such resources, such alliances easy to be obtained ; and where at any rate an honorable death was preferable to the yoke which was prepared for her and for her children. Above all, it was an error *to confide* where so much insolence appeared ; where confidence had been so much abused ; and so many footsteps of treachery were at all times to be seen.—There was another very great error which it is impossible not to remark, viz. that of suffering the French partizans to have so much latitude and so much influence ; to restrain them no more from corrupting the sources of information, as they did. It was a small party at first, and therefore despised. But " behind the skreen of this contemptibility," says du Pan, " were the Jacobins in France." There were all the revolutioners in it's government. Behind them were the French legation, and they gave them system, and directed their pernicious energies ; and sometimes promised them money. And it is with surprise we behold in them what a small party, thus set on, thus organized and directed, will grow to ; and what they will accomplish. They soon had the address, by enlisting the timid on their side, to carry a majority in the government. And when Buonaparte comes over, or an army, to support them, then they unmask themselves. If special Conventions of the States are called, they too have their general Conventions ; and thus ultimately are the principal executioners of their country's liberties and independence.

There are many particulars of similarity between Switzerland and our own country, which sometimes makes us tremble. There are circumstances of difference which give hope. It is none of the smallest, that we have their example to shew us what French amity comes to ; and if we are not either blind or fast asleep, we must open our eyes :

eyes : and opening our eyes in time may prove our salvation. There is a broad ocean between us and the invaders, which Switzerland had not ; for which we should be very thankful. Our natural resources perhaps are greater. Besides having, like that country, a President awake to our true interests and inflexible in their defence, we have a decided majority in the government, with him ; a circumstance which they had not. And hitherto the enemy, however disposed, seem not at liberty to enforce their demands. These advantages, if it so please All-Gracious Heaven, may continue. But nothing will save us, if the spirit of slumber prevails here as it did there : if, "struck with fear, and yet bewitched with hope," we still flatter ourselves, as the Swiss did, to escape by temporizing.

NOTE I. Page 23.

"This fore and humiliating correction."

THE trouble we meet with from the French is the more humbling by reason of past connexions and alliance ; the acknowledged assistance received from them ; and the general partiality of our country toward them, which was well known to the world, and continued so long after others saw through them ; a partiality, which made us wish to draw a veil over their excesses, palliate their faults, and feel, I am afraid, much less abhorrence of their impiety and their crimes than we ought to have felt. I own that the present affliction by their ungenerous hands, brings this to my remembrance, and is a subject of humiliation in that view. It may also put us upon inquiry whether, in the years that went before, we were not too much lifted up by our alliance with that nation, and less disposed to humble ourselves in the hour of danger, or to render due praise to the Most High when that hour was past. Is it not for this, among other sins, that our boasted allies are to be a scourge to us ; and their horrid principles to corrupt and contaminate our manners, until their dreadful effects shall awaken conviction ; or until such a time arrives as that predicted by the prophet, When the enemy shall come in like a flood, the Spirit of the Lord shall lift up a standard against them ?

NOTE J. Page 26.

"CONVERT him ; and incline his heart to justice and mercy," said the venerable Cabot of Ipswich, praying in former days for one of the Barbary princes who at that time plundered and distressed our people ; "but if this is not to be, *break his neck, Lord.*" There goes a tradition, and I think that Dr. C. Mather sanctions it, that the last part of the alternative was literally fulfilled.

NOTE K. Page 26.

WHATEVER be said of the valor of the French, it is notorious, that they have conquered, much more by their intrigues than by their arms. And when we see them making their gradual approaches in the first way ; and ultimately detaching even troops in arms, by mak-
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ing them believe that their officers betray them; who must not be alarmed, that wishes the safety of his country?—The main object of the French at present is to make us believe that they are pacific; and to throw the odium of the continuation of hostilities upon our government; and thereby disaffect the citizens as much as possible, and render them dissatisfied with the necessary means of their defence. And if a national tax for that purpose has any new circumstances in it, this we may be sure, will not be forgotten. If the best men are favorable to it, this must be a pretext for withdrawing confidence from them. And if the clergy are awake to the common danger, they too must be proscribed.

NOTE L. Page 27.

MUCH has been said in the opposition papers, of the men of 1775 and '76: As if the principles of those times went to oppose Britain only, and not every other encroaching power! The principle of 1774 (according to *Novanglus*, our champion at that time) was to *resist every arbitrary imposition*. And I believe that *Novanglus* is of the same mind still. The principle of 1776 was *independence*. The Tories were those who were for submitting to the foreign power, and the arbitrary demands. And I wonder what those are now, who are for submitting in like manner, not to a mother-country, but to a stranger; and have clamored, in the public gazettes, because the *douceur* and the *loan* demanded by the French as the condition of our admittance to a hearing, were not peaceably complied with; and because other submissions, equally degrading to American honor and fatal to our liberty, have not been made.

NOTE M. Page 27.

To whom else shall we look in the hour of danger?

THERE is not a plainer duty than that of strengthening the hands of a faithful government: and there is not a clearer point of prudence. If this is not realized in a general way, there will come an hour of difficulty when it will be felt. Those who are in the habit of finding fault with the government, and yet do not intend to give up their country when invaded, would do well to consider in what way they mean to defend it. Do they expect to do it without government; and, without the aid of national laws, to call forth the resources of the country, and make and enforce the necessary arrangements? I suppose not. Would they dissolve the government in the moment of danger, as the Swiss did, and hazard all the imbecilities of a novel establishment, or rather no establishment, at such a time? I can hardly suppose that. Do they mean then to look up to the existing government, and the good old friends, who have always stood by them? If so, let them *strengthen their hands now; and not cherish those jealousies which tend to rely to enfeeble them against the time that their utmost influence and energy shall be wanted; and perhaps let in the common enemy to tell the people, and tell the soldiers, that "they are betrayed."* Our enemies consider these things more than we do. And it is past a doubt that their

their main object in trying to detach the people, every where, from their rulers, is to put it out of their power to defend themselves in the hour of actual invasion.

NOTE N. Page 28.

"By no means to be entrusted," &c.

DIVINE Providence, since these hints were delivered, has thought fit to remove from the cares of government, our excellent Chief Magistrate, Mr. SUMNER; who had presided two years, "accepted of the multitude of his brethren, seeking the wealth of his people;"—and was recently re-elected by a respectable majority. While, in company with thousands, I drop a tear to the memory of this amiable man, of truly republican manners, and exemplary Christian spirit, whom subordinate magistrates and the rising youth might, with such safety and advantage, look up to and love; let me pray my fellow-citizens that, when they shall proceed to fill his place, they will call to mind his talents and virtues for their direction; and, in particular, that striking combination of Christian firmness and conciliating gentleness which was found in him.

NOTE O. Page 29.

"MY Lords," said the Bishop of Asaph in his speech of 1774, "I look upon North-America to be the only great nursery of freemen now left upon the face of the earth." And, from this, the good man hoped "that Heaven itself would take part" against the design of enslaving these States. Let us indulge the same hope upon this occasion; and be animated to vigorous exertion; and the more, because the design now formed is far more atrocious than that of 1774; and it goes to a more perfect subjugation, if we may judge by the Republics which France has reduced; ~~now~~ it goes to the extermination of all religious order, which is the very lowest point of degradation and slavery.

NOTE P. Page 25.

Of Christian piety and virtue.

THOSE who wish to refresh their minds with a lively idea of what this is, and of its high importance, may find many important hints in a PRACTICAL VIEW by Mr. WILKINSON, Member of the British Parliament, lately republished at Boston:—And such a combination of ability with seriousness; zeal and faithfulness with great modesty and candor, as speaks him designed, by Providence, for an instrument of reformation. And perhaps this thought will meet us, that waving the great mysteries of the gospel in order to defend it the better, is an egregious mistake: And that it is much more to the purpose to shew what a capital part of the glory of the gospel, and of the evidence of it's Divine Original, is formed by those mysterious wonders of wisdom and love, which it declares;—and how the transcendent morality, so conspicuous in the gospel, grows out of these mysteries, believed and kept in view, with correspondent affection.

FINIS.



